Morphology

4.1. Nouns:

Nouns in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa may be defined as a class of words that can be inflected for the categories of gender, number and case.

The following are the different types of noun.

Countable Noun:

(a) Common Noun:
/ʃubuŋ/ ‘man’
/laifí/ ‘book’
/dao/ ‘bird’
/hazu/ ‘hill’
/kʰum/ ‘flower’

(b) Proper Noun:
/dimapur/ ‘Dimapur’
/himaloi/ ‘Himalaya’
/megaloi/ ‘Meghalaya’
/goŋga/ ‘The Ganga’

Uncountable Noun:

(a) Abstract Noun:
/brabma/ ‘sour’
/dima/ ‘sweet’
/bol/ ‘strength’
/duŋma/ ‘hot’
/gətʰar/ ‘pure’

(b) Material Noun:
/di/ ‘water’
4.2. Gender:

Gender is not grammatically marked in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa and so it does not affect the grammatical pattern of the language. The noun and verb do not show concord in gender in a sentence. The gender distinction in Dimasa is determined on the natural recognition of sexes.

On the basis of semantical-morphological criteria, nouns in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa are classified into two classes, namely, (i) animate and (ii) inanimate. Both (+human and –human) nouns are differentiated for masculine and feminine genders. All the inanimate nouns are considered neuter in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa. Neuter gender is not marked by any marker in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa.

The different ways of expressing gender differentiation in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa are as follows:

(a) The lexically marked gender for masculine and feminine are –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/miya/ ‘boy’</td>
<td>/məʃainzu/ ‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/baʃa/ ‘son’</td>
<td>/buʃu/ ‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/graʃa/ ‘old man’</td>
<td>/grazu/ ‘old woman’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where the lexical feminine item /məʃainzu/, /buʃu/, and /grazu/ are used by the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa and /məʃainzik/, /bifik/ and /grazik/ are used by the standard spoken dialect of North Cachar Hill district.

(b) Another way of forming feminine is the replacement of /-i/ to the masculine final vowel /a/, such as–

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bumaoʃa/ ‘husband of mother’s younger sister’</td>
<td>/bumaoʃi/ ‘mother’s younger sister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It seems that in the above mentioned words, the feminine gender is formed as a result of influence of Indo-Aryan language on Dimasa.

(c) In case of animal, /-zla/ and /zuk/ are used to represent masculine and feminine respectively. For example –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/honozla/</td>
<td>/honozuk/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pig’</td>
<td>‘female pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/muʃuzla/</td>
<td>/muʃuzuk/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bull’</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/burunzla/</td>
<td>/burunzuk/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he goat’</td>
<td>‘she goat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The feminine marker /-zuk/ is used by the Barak Valley dialect and /-zik/ is used by the standard dialect of North Cachar Hill district.

(d) In case of some animal /-ma/ and /-la/ are used for feminine and masculine respectively. The suffix /-ma/ is used to denote mother animal and /-la/ is used to indicate adult male animal and the last syllable /no/ of the base word gets deleted.

For example:-

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/daono/</td>
<td>‘hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/daoma/</td>
<td>‘mother hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/daola/</td>
<td>‘cock’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hono/</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/homa/</td>
<td>‘mother pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hola/</td>
<td>‘adult male pig’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/burunma/</td>
<td>‘mother goat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no such kind of corresponding masculine formation for /burun/ ‘goat’.

(e) In case of human being, /-zu/ is suffixed to the masculine to form feminine. For example –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gedema/</td>
<td>/gedemazu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘gentleman’</td>
<td>‘lady’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(f) /-zu/ is also used to denote feminine in case of community name. Such as –

**Masculine**        **Feminine**
/hadiʃa/ ‘Bengali man’  /hadizu/ ‘Bengali woman’
/aʃimʃa/ ‘Assemese man’ /aʃimzu/ ‘Assamese woman’
/moŋlaʃa/ ‘Manipur man’ /moŋlaizu/ ‘Manipur woman’

The feminine marker /-zu/ of both human being and community name is used by the Barak Valley dialect and /-zik/ is used by the standard dialect.

(g) /–dao/ and /–di/ are used to represent masculine and feminine in case of human being. For example –

**Masculine**        **Feminine**
/natbɔŋdao/ ‘deaf man’ /natbɔŋdi/ ‘deaf woman’
/guburdao/ ‘mad man’ /guburdı/ ‘mad woman’
/guʃumdao/ ‘black man’ /guʃumdi/ ‘black woman’

The lexical item /gubur/, /guʃum/ are used in the Barak Valley dialect and /gibir/, /gijim/ in North Cachar Hill standard dialect.

### 4.3. Number:

The number system can be divided into (i) singular and (ii) plural. The singular number remains unmarked. There are three different morphemes for indicating plural. They are /–butbʊ/, /–rao/ and /–gɔza/.

In case of non-human animate and inanimate object, the morpheme /-butbʊ/ is suffixed to the singular form to make plural. For example –

**Singular**        **Plural**
/fiʃa/ ‘dog’          /fiʃa-butbʊ/ ‘dogs’
/alu/ ‘cat’           /alu-butbʊ/ ‘cats’
/laiʃi/ ‘book’        /laiʃi-butbʊ/ ‘books’

However, /ʃubuŋ/ is the only word which allows suffixation of /-butbʊ/ to the singular form to make plural. For example –
**Singular** | **Plural**
---|---
/fubuŋ/ ‘man’ | /fubuŋ-butʰu/ ‘men’

The morpheme /-rao/ is suffixed to the singular form to make plural in case of human being. For example –

| Singular | Plural |
---|---|
/miya/ ‘boy’ | /miya-rao/ ‘boys’ |
/məʃainzu/ ‘girl’ | /məʃainzu-rao/ ‘girls’ |
/anʃa/ ‘child’ | /anʃa-rao/ ‘children’ |

The morpheme /-rao/ is also used as address term to address the father, the mother, husband, wife etc. Such as –

/bupʰa-rao/ ‘father’
/buma-rao/ ‘mother’
/bəʃai-rao/ ‘husband’

In noun phrases, which are composed of a head and a modifier, can change the order as a modifier and a head and plural morpheme is suffixed to the whole noun phrase. Thus, there are two possibilities of order in noun phrases such as head noun + modifier + plural and modifier + head noun + plural. For example:–

/fijə  guʃum -butʰu/
dog black Pl.
or
/guʃum fijə -butʰu/
black dog - Pl.
‘black dogs.’

/bonpʰaŋ  gede -butʰu/
tree big -Pl.
or
/gede bonpʰaŋ -butʰu/
big tree -Pl.
‘big trees.’
/anʃ'a hamba -rao/
child good -Pl.
or
/hamba anʃ'a -rao/
good child -Pl.
‘good children.’

However, the plural markers /-rao/ and /-but'u/ are not used when two or more numeral coexists with noun or noun phrases. The numerals can either follow the noun or noun phrases or precedes the noun or noun phrases. For example:

/jubunŋ gini/
man two
or
/gini jubunŋ/
two man
‘two men.’

/mɔtla hamba gat'am/
girl good three
or
/gat'am hamba mɔtla/
three good girl
‘three good girl.’

/alu gup'u makt'am/
cat white three
or
/makt'am gup'u alu/
three white cat
‘three white cats.’
It means that the use of plural marker is optional when the numeral indicating more than one is present in the context.

The plural marker /-gəza/ is used in both human and non-human objects. The morpheme /-gəza/ is suffixed to the singular form to make plural. For example:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/naga/ ‘bachelor’</td>
<td>/naga-gəza/ ‘bachelors’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/begreŋ/ ‘bone’</td>
<td>/begreŋ-gəza/ ‘bones’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4. Case:

In the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa, the case relations are expressed by postposing the case markers to the nouns or pronouns. The following are the cases found in this dialect.

4.4.1. Nominative Case:

In the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa, the nominative case has no overt marker and it is syntactically used as the subject of an intransitive verb. It is realized as zero morph. For example:-

/bo -Ø rəzap -du/
he -Nom. sing -Pre.
‘He sings’

/aŋ -Ø məkʰam zi –ma/
I -Nom. rice eat -fut.
‘I will eat rice’

In the above mentioned sentences, /bo/, /aŋ/ are pronouns and subjects of the intransitive verbs /rəzap –du/ and /zi –ma/ respectively and there is no overt case marker.

4.4.2. Accusative Case:

It is the case of the direct object of the verb. When the noun refers to a particular thing or person, the accusative case marker /-kʰe/ is suffixed. For example:-
I book -Acc. lose -Past  
‘I lost the book.’

he cat -Acc. beat -Past earlier  
‘He beat the cat earlier’.

In the above sentences, the nouns /laiʃi-kʰǝ/, /alu-kʰǝ/are the direct object of the verbs /kʰǝma -kʰa/ and /do -ba/ respectively.

In case of non-particular noun, the accusative case is realized as zero morph. For example:-

I book -Acc. buy -Past  
‘I bought book’.

he mango -Acc. eat -Past  
‘I ate mango’.

4.4.3. Dative Case:

The dative case is associated with the act of giving. In the case of indirect object of a verb, it is marked by /-ne/. For example-

ram -Dat. biscuit give  
‘Give biscuit to Ram’.

I he -Dat. book give -Past  
‘I gave him book’.

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Dimasa has two dative marker/-tene/ and /-ne/. /-tene/ occurs with first person (singular, plural) & with second & third person (singular). Whereas, /-ne/ occurs with noun and pronoun as well as with second and third person plural. /ne/ can also be used with first person pronoun both singular and plural but when /-ne/ is used with first person pronoun both singular and plural /an/, /zu/ and second person singular pronoun /nuŋ/, the velar nasal /ŋ/ is dropped. For example-

/bo a -ne ri ri -kha/
he I -Dat. cloth give -Past
‘he gave cloth’.

/zu -ne gandu ri/
we -Dat. pillow give
‘give us pillow’.

/bo nu -ne lafi ri -kha/
he you -Dat. book give -Past
‘he gave you the book’.

Second person plural
/an niʃi –ne t’aizu ri –ma/
I you (pl.) Dat. mango give –Fut.
‘I shall give mango to you (pl.)’.

Third person plural
/bufi –ne t’aizu ri/
they -Dat. mango give
‘give mango to them’.
The use of /-tʰene/. For example:-

/bo anŋ -tʰene ri ri -kʰa/
he I -Dat. cloth give -Past
‘he gave me the cloth’.

/zuŋ -tʰene makʰam ri/
us -Dat. rice give
‘give us rice’.

/bo -tʰene ri/
he -Dat. give
‘give him’.

/anŋ nuŋ -tʰene kʰuʃi ri -du/
I you -Dat. work give -Pre.
‘I give you the book’.

4.4.4. Genitive Case:
It indicates the possessive relationship of the noun or pronoun. So, it reflects a possessor – possessed relationship. Genitive is marked by marker /-ni/. When /-ni/ is used with the first person pronoun both singular and plural /anŋ/, /zuŋ/ and the second person singular pronoun /nuŋ/ the velar nasal /ŋ/ is dropped. For example:-

/a -ni no/
I -Gen. house
‘my house’.

/zi -ni no/
us -Gen. house
‘our house’.
Second person plural

/niʃi -ni no/
you(pl.) -Gen. house
‘yours house’

Third person singular

/bo -ni no/
he -Gen. house
‘his house’

Third person plural

/buʃi -ni no/
they -Gen. house
‘their house’

/alu -ni kʰermai/
cat -Gen. tail
‘cat’s tail’.

/ram -ni bubí/
ram -Gen. sister
‘Ram’s sister’.

4.4.5. Instrumental Case:
The instrumental case indicates the instrument used in carrying out some action identified by the verb. It is marked by post-posing /-zan/. For example:-
/aŋ ruwa -zaŋ wa dain -kʰa/
I axe -Ins. bamboo cut -Past
‘I cut the bamboo with an axe’.

/bo ruŋ -zaŋ tʰaŋ -kʰa/
he boat -Ins. go -Past
‘he went by boat’.

4.4.6. Locative Case:
The locative case indicates the location of the event/action identified by the verb. It is expressed by post posing /-ha/. For example:-

/aŋ no -ha tʰaŋ -ma/
I house -Loc. go -Fut.
‘I shall go home’.

/dao nakʰaʃao -ha bur -du/
bird sky -Loc. fly -Pre.
‘the bird flies in the sky’.

4.4.7. Ablative Case:
It specifies the point in space to where the subject is transferred at the culmination of the action identified by the verb. It is the case of separation from the source in performing the action mentioned by the verb. The ablative case is marked by marking /-nipʰraŋ/ or /-niʃiŋ/ to the noun and both are in free variation. For example:-

/bo opʰiʃ -niʃiŋ pʰai -kʰa/
he office -Abl. come -Past
‘he came from office’.
/bo  opʰiʃ-nipʰraŋ  pʰai -kʰa/
he  office -Abl.  come -Past
‘He came from office’.

/ɑŋ  ram -nipʰraŋ laiʃi  mai -kʰa/
I  ram -Abl.  book  get -Past
‘I got book from Ram’.

/ɑŋ  ram -nipʰraŋ laiʃi  mai -kʰa/
I  ram -Abl.  book  get -Past
‘I got book from Ram’.

4.5. Pronouns:

Pronouns in Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa distinguishes number, but no gender. Pronouns may be classified into the following categories:


4.5.1. Personal pronoun:

The Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa distinguishes three personal pronouns and two numbers. To make singular or plural, it does not use the marker /-buthu/ or /-rao/, rather different forms are used. The personal pronouns are –

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>/ɑŋ/</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
<td>/zuŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>/nuŋ/</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
<td>/nifį/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>/bo/</td>
<td>‘he/she’</td>
<td>/buʃi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first person plural /zuŋ/, second person singular /nuŋ/ and third person plural /buʃi/ are used by the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa and the first person plural /ziŋ/, second
person singular /ɲiŋ/ and third person plural /boŋʃi/ are used by the standard dialect of North Cachar Hill district.

The use of personal pronouns are shown in the following examples:-

/ɚŋ naga/  
I bachelor  
‘I am bachelor’.

/zuŋ mətʰla/  
we maid  
‘We are maid’.

/nunʃ ñubunʃ/  
you man  
‘You are man’.

/ŋiʃi ñere/  
you(Pl.) Wh.  
‘Who are you?’

/bo naga/  
he bachelor  
‘He is bachelor’.

/bo məʃainzu/  
she girl  
‘She is girl’.

/buʃi ñere/  
they Wh.  
‘Who are they?’
These pronouns can be inflected for cases. The illustrations are as follows –

Case marking for first person pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/aŋ-ø/</td>
<td>/zuŋ-ø/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>/aŋ-kʰe/</td>
<td>/zuŋ-kʰe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/a-ne/; /aŋ-tʰene/</td>
<td>/zu-ne/; /zuŋ-tʰene/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/a-ni/</td>
<td>/zi -ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>/aŋ-zañ/</td>
<td>/zuŋ-zañ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>/ani-niʃiŋ/; /ani-nipʰraŋ/</td>
<td>/zini-niʃiŋ/; /zini-nipʰraŋ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Case marking for second person pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/nuŋ; niŋ-ø/</td>
<td>/niʃi-ø/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>/nuŋ-kʰe; niŋ-kʰe/</td>
<td>/zuŋ-kʰe; ziŋ-kʰe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/nu-ne; ni-ne/ or</td>
<td>/niʃi-ne/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nuŋ-tʰene; niŋ-tʰene/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/nu-ni; ni-ni/</td>
<td>/niʃi-ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>/nuŋ-zañ; niŋ-zañ/</td>
<td>/niʃi-zañ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>/nuni; nini; -nipʰraŋ; -niʃiŋ/</td>
<td>/niʃini; -nipʰraŋ; -niʃiŋ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Case marking for third person pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>/bo –ø/</td>
<td>/buʃi; bonʃi –ø/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>/bo -kʰe/</td>
<td>/buʃi -kʰe; bonʃi -kʰe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>/bo-ne; tʰene/</td>
<td>/buʃi-ne; bonʃi-ne/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>/bo-ni/</td>
<td>/buʃi-ni; bonʃi-ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>/bo-zañ/</td>
<td>/buʃi-zañ; bonʃi-zañ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>/boni-niʃiŋ; nipʰraŋ/</td>
<td>/buʃi; bonʃi; -niʃiŋ; -nipʰraŋ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5.2. Demonstrative pronoun:

The demonstrative pronouns in Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa are formed by prefixing /e-/ and /hou-/ to the third person pronoun /bo/ such as /e-bo/ which remains ‘this’ and /hou-bo/ which means ‘that’.

Moreover, /heige-/ and /hougo-/ are also prefixed to the third person pronoun /bo-/ for the same meaning to make more specific to the object. For example:-

/e-bo ʃiʃa/
this dog
‘This is (a) dog’.

/hou-bo ʃiʃa/
that dog
‘That is (a) dog’.

/heige-bo laiʃi ani/
this book mine
‘This book is mine’.

/hougo-bo laiʃi ani/
that book mine
‘That book is mine’.

To make plural demonstrative pronoun, the plural marker /-butʰu/ is suffixed to the singular demonstrative pronoun such as /e-bo - butʰu/ ‘these’ and /hou-bo butʰu/ ‘those’.

For /heige-/ and /hougo-/ also, the same plural marker is suffixed such as /heige-bo-butʰu/ ‘these’ and /hougo-bo-butʰu/ ‘those’. For example:-

/e-bo-butʰu laiʃi hambi/
these book good
‘These are good books’.

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/hou-bo-butʰu laiʃi hambi/

those book good

‘Those are good books’.

However, when /-butʰu/ is suffixed to the noun, the singular demonstrative pronoun /e-bo/ or /hou-bo/ do not take the plural marker. For example:-

/e-bo laiʃi -butʰu ani/

this book Pl. mine

‘These books are mine’.

/hou-bo laiʃi -butʰu ani/

that book Pl. mine

‘Those books are mine’.

4.5.3. Reflexive Pronoun:

In Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa /zar/ is used as reflexive which usually occurs after the subject and appropriate case markers are added to it. For example:-

/bo zar -kʰe do -du/

he Refl.-Acc. beat -Pre.

‘He beats himself’.

/miyaha bo -kʰe aŋ zar kʰlai -ba/

yesterday it -Acc. I Refl. do -Past

‘I did it myself yesterday’.

/nunŋ zar tʰaŋ/

you Refl. go

‘You go yourself’.
4.5.4. Relative pronoun:

The Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa has relative pronoun /ze/ which is a borrowed Indo-Aryan word. For example:-

/doha ze ʃubuŋ tʰaŋ-ba bo ani lugu/
now RP man go-Past he my friend
‘The man who went now is my friend’.

/miyaha ze maʃainzu pʰai–ba bo boni bubi/
yesterday RP. girl come–Past she his sister
‘The girl who came yesterday is his sister’.

4.5.5. Interrogative Pronoun:

The Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa has the following interrogative pronouns which can be both preponed or postponed. It can take case markers. For example:-

(i) /ʃere/ ‘who’

/nuŋ ʃere ?/
you Wh.
‘Who are you?’

/ʃere -ni ɾi ebo ?/
Wh. -Gen. cloth this
‘Whose cloth is this?’

(ii) /ʃmadi; madi; fnadi; nadi; fmu/ ‘what’

/ʃmadi ebo ?/
Wh. This
‘What is this?’
(iii) /braha; bra/  ‘where’
  /braha  tʰaŋ -ma ?/
  Wh.  go -Fut.
  ‘Where will (you) go?’

(iv) /biʃi/  ‘how many’
  /jaː- biʃi ʃubuŋ pʰai -kʰ a ?/
  Class. Wh. man  come -Past
  ‘How many people came?’

(v) /bedehe; bede/  ‘how’
  /nuŋ bedehe kʰlai -kʰ a ?/
  you  Wh.  do -Past
  ‘How did you do?’

(vi) /ʃumbo/  ‘which’
  /ʃumbo ʃubuŋ ?/
  Wh.  man
  ‘Which is man?’

(vii) /bijilai/  ‘how much’
  /nuni bijilai raŋ donŋ ?/
  your  Wh.  money  have
  ‘How much money do you have?’

(viii) /bəŋgede/  ‘in which side’
  /zuŋ bəŋgede tʰaŋ -ma ?/
  we  Wh.  go -Fut.
  ‘Which side shall we go?’
The plural interrogative pronoun is formed by completely reduplicating the singular interrogative pronoun or by suffixing the plural marker /-gəza/ to the singular interrogative pronoun. For example:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/jere/ ‘who’</td>
<td>/jere jere/ ‘who(Pl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jere –gəza/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wh. Pl.</td>
<td>‘Who (Pl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nadi/ ‘what’</td>
<td>/nadi nadi/ ‘what(Pl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/nadi -gəza/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wh. Pl.</td>
<td>‘what (Pl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jumbo/ ‘which’</td>
<td>/jumbo jumbo/ ‘which(Pl.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/jumbo –gəza/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wh. Pl.</td>
<td>‘which (Pl.)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural formation of interrogative pronoun can also co-occur with the case marker and the plural suffix. For example:-

/jere -kʰe -gəza zuru –ma/
who -Acc. Pl. call -Fut.
‘Whom(Pl.) shall (we) call?’

/jere jere -kʰe -gəza zuru –ma/
who who -Acc. Pl. call -Fut.
‘Whom(Pl.) shall (we) call?’
4.5.6. Indefinite Pronoun:

The Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa has the following morphological structure of indefinite pronouns. For example:-

(i) /ʃereba/ ‘someone/somebody’

/ʃereba pʰai -kʰa/

someone come -Past

‘Someone came’.

(ii) /muʃibo/ ‘nothing’

/no -ha muʃibo girī/

home -Loc. nothing Neg.Cop.

‘There is nothing at home’.

(iii) /aʃaba; iʃaba/ ‘anything’

ane aʃaba/iʃaba -kʰe ri

me anything -Acc. give

‘Give me anything’.

(iv) /kʰribbo/ ‘everybody’

/kʰribbo pʰai -kʰa/

everybody come -Past

‘Everybody came’.

(v) /ʃmaba/ ‘something’

/bo ʃmaba tʰi -ba ʃagaŋha/

he something say -Past earlier

‘He said something earlier’.
(vi) /ʃaoʃibo/ ‘nobody’

/no -ha ʃaoʃibo giri/

home -Loc. nobody Neg.Cop.

‘Nobody is at home’.

The indefinite pronoun /muʃibo/ and /ʃaoʃibo/ occurs only in negative sentences.

4.6. Verbs:

Verbs are those roots which take the morphemes (grammatical categories) for tenses, aspects and moods. The verb roots are of two types namely (i) simple and (ii) derived/complex. Most of the simple roots are monosyllabic while the derived roots are formed by compounding. The Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa verbs are either transitive or intransitive. The structure of verb roots are as follows:-

4.6.1. Simple root:

Simple roots consists of a root and nothing else attached. In Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa, simple verb roots are capable of standing independently on their own in larger constructions.

/bur/ ‘fly’
/pʰai/ ‘come’
/kʰam/ ‘sit’
/gra/ ‘cry’

4.6.2. Transitive and Intransitive:

The Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa does not have separate marker for transitive and intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs take a direct object while intransitive verbs do not take a direct object.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ri/ ‘give’</td>
<td>/bur/ ‘fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nai/ ‘see’</td>
<td>/gra/ ‘cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/matʰa/ ‘make stop’</td>
<td>/bai/ ‘dance’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6.3. Derived roots:

4.6.3.1. Compound verb:

It is formed by combining two root morphemes together. The following are the examples of compound verb in Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa.

/zi - tʰaŋ/

eat go ‘go and eat’

/zi - pʰai/

eat come ‘come and eat’

/tʰaŋ - pʰin/

go back ‘go back’

4.6.3.2. Explicator Compound verb:

It is a morphological construction of two verbs $V_1+V_2$ where the first verb is the predicating verb and the second verb is the explicator which modifies the name of directionality. The combination of $V_1+V_2$ becomes one lexeme.

The $V_2$ is not the predicating verb because it does not give the main meaning; main meaning is supplied by the verb $V_1$. The entire compound of the finite verb - the predicating verb and the explicator is considered as one lexeme; not as two different lexical items. The $V_2$ is de-lexicalized and operated as a bound morpheme because, on its own it does not give the same meaning (Abbi, 1990).

Some of the explicators in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa are such as /bai/ ‘to announce’, /ʃoŋ/ ‘to stand’.

/-bai/ indicates continuation of action and gives the meaning of ‘keep on’.

/lama -ha him -bai/

road -Loc. walk ECV.

‘keep on walking on the road’.
/bo laji pʰuri -bai -du/
he book read ECV. -Pre.
‘He keeps on reading book’.

/-jʊŋ/ indicates the action is performed regularly.

/graozama -kʰe  kʰəna –jʊŋ/
news -Acc. hear ECV.
‘Hear the news (regularly)’.

/kʰuʃi -kʰe  daŋ –jʊŋ/
work -Acc. do ECV.
‘Do the work (regularly)’.

4.6.3.3. Conjunct Verb:
It is a sequence constituted of either a noun + verb or an adjective + verb. For example:-

(a) /daŋma/ ‘to do’

/hadi daŋma/ ‘to do agriculture work’.

/kʰuʃi daŋma/ ‘to do (a)work’.

(b) /zama/ ‘to become’

/gənaŋ zama/ ‘to become rich’.

/gufum zama/ ‘to become black’.

/hamya zama/ ‘to become bad’.
4.6.3.4. Causative:

Causative verb in Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa is morphologically marked by suffixing /-ri/ which means ‘give’ to the verbal roots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-causative</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pʰunũ/</td>
<td>‘show’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mɔzaŋ/</td>
<td>‘beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰu/</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰaŋ/</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰunũ –ri/</td>
<td>‘make show’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mɔzaŋ –ri/</td>
<td>‘make beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰu –ri/</td>
<td>‘make white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰaŋ –ri/</td>
<td>‘make go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6.3.5. Auxiliary verbs:

The auxiliary verbs in Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa are of two types - (i) main auxiliary, and (ii) modal auxiliary.

(i) Main auxiliary: /doŋ/ is used as main auxiliary verb which expresses the meaning of ‘be’ and ‘have’. For example:-

/aŋ no -ha doŋ/
I home -Loc. be
‘I am at home’.

/bo no -ha doŋ -ba jɔgaŋha/
he home -Loc. be -Past earlier
‘He was at home earlier’.

/ani laiʃi doŋ/
my book have
‘I have (a) book’.

(ii) Modal auxiliary: /-pʰu/ or /-pʰure/ ‘can/may’ are the modal auxiliaries. /-pʰu/ is suffixed when tense markers are used and /-pʰure/ is used when such tense markers are absent. For example:-

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4.7. Tense and Aspect:

The tense in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa can be categorized into - (i) present, (ii) past and (iii) future. These three tenses are expressed by separate markers added to the verb after all other markers for aspect, mood etc. have been added. In this dialect, verbs are not inflected for person, number and gender. The present and the past tense can function in four aspects-(i) indefinite (simple), (ii) habitual, (iii) progressive and (iv) perfective, while the future tense can function in three aspectual categories except habitual category.

4.7.1. Present Tense:

Present tense is expressed by suffixing /-du/ to the main verb. The present tense with three aspects are illustrated as –
4.7.1.1. Present Indefinite (Simple):

Present indefinite is realized by /Ø/ i.e. it is unmarked. For example:-

/aŋ laiʃi pʰori -Ø -du/  
I book read Indef. -Pre.  
‘I read book’.

/nuŋ hatʰa tʰaŋ -Ø -du/  
you market go Indef. -Pre.  
‘You go to market’.

/bo mækʰam zi -Ø -du/  
he rice eat Indef. -Pre.  
‘He eats rice’.

4.7.1.2. Present Habitual:

The present habitual is realized by zero marker /-Ø/ i.e. it is unmarked. It can only be realized by mentioning time adverbial like ‘everyday’. For example:-

/bo nalaibo dugur -Ø -du/  
he everyday take bath Hab. -Pre.  
‘He takes bath everyday’.

/aŋ nalaibo pʰoroŋ -ha baiza -Ø -du/  
I everyday morning -Loc. get up Hab. -Pre.  
‘I get up in the morning everyday’.

4.7.1.3. Present Progressive:

The progressive aspect is formed by suffixing /-ʃai/ to the verb followed by the present tense marker /-du/. For example:-
4.7.1.4. Present Perfective:

There is no distinction between present and past perfective. In both cases /-blai/ is used.

Since the category of perfect takes past tense marker, so it will be discussed under past tense.

4.7.2. Past Tense:

Past tense is marked by suffixing (i) /-kʰa/ and (ii) /-ba/. /-ba/ is used when past event is specified by the use of adverbial. When no such past event is specified /-kʰa/ is used.

4.7.2.1. Past Indefinite (Simple):

Past indefinite is unmarked. It is realized by zero marker /-Ø/. For example:-

/ŋ zi -Ø -kʰa/
I eat Indef. -Past
‘I ate’.
4.7.2.2. Past Habitual:

It is expressed by suffixing /-re/ to the verb. Moreover, /-re/ is also used to make universal statements. For example:

/aŋ pʰoroŋ-ha baiza -re/
I morning -Loc. get up Hab.
‘I used to get up in the morning’.

/bo nalaibo kʰuʃi daŋ -re/
he everyday work do Hab.
‘He used to do work everyday’.

/ʃainza gede ʃain bre -re/
east towards sun rise Hab.
‘The sun rises in the east’.

/musu ʃam zi -re/
cow grass eat Hab.
‘The cow eats grass’.
4.7.2.3. Past Progressive:

Past progressive is marked by /-fai/ like present progressive. For example:-

/zuŋ zi-fai bo ha/
we eat Prog. -Past that -Loc.
‘We were eating by that time’.

/aŋ bo ha t'ŋaŋ-fai ba/
I that -Loc. go Prog. -Past
‘I was going by that time’.

4.7.2.4. Past Perfective:

Past perfective is expressed by suffixing /-blai/ to the verb. For example:-

/aŋ zi-blai k^h^a/
I eat Perf. -Past
‘I have/had eaten’.

/aŋ doha zi-blai ba/
I now eat Perf. -Past
‘I have eaten now’.

/bo k'uji daŋ -blai -k^h^a/
he work do Perf. -Past
‘He has/had done the work’.

/bo miyaha daŋ-blai -ba/
he yesterday do Perf. -Past
‘He had done yesterday’.
4.7.3. **Future Tense:**

Future tense is formed by suffixing (i) /-ma/ and (ii) /-naŋ/. /-naŋ/ is used to indicate certainty of the event, while /-ma/ lacks such assertion of the event on the part of the speaker.

### 4.7.3.1. **Future Indefinite (Simple):**

Future indefinite is unmarked i.e. it is realized by zero marker /Ø/. For example:-

/ŋ tʰaŋ -Ø -ma/

I go Indef. -Fut.

‘I shall go’.

/ŋ tʰaŋ -Ø -naŋ/

I go Indef. -Fut.

‘I will (certainly) go’.

/bo pʰai -Ø -ma/

he come Indef. -Fut.

‘He will come’.

/bo pʰai -Ø -naŋ/

he come Indef. -Fut.

‘He will (certainly) come’.

### 4.7.3.2. **Future Progressive:**

Future progressive is expressed by suffixing /-ʃai/ to the verb followed by future marker. For example:-

/bo zi -ʃai -ma/

he eat Prog. -Fut.

‘He will be eating’.
4.7.3.3. Future Perfective:

It is formed by suffixing /-blai/ to the verb. For example:

/bo ʃohi -blai -naŋ/
he reach Perf. -Fut.
‘He will (certainly) have reached’.

/aŋ меча zi -blai –ma/
I rice eat Perf. -Fut.
‘I shall have eaten rice’.

4.8. Moods:

4.8.1. Imperative Mood:

The imperative of command in Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa is expressed by the bare verb root and the imperative of request is expressed by suffixing /-ha/ to the verb root. For example:

/zii/
‘eat’

/zii –ha/
eat Mood.
‘Please eat’.

/tʰaŋ/
‘go’
4.8.2. Capability:

The ability or capability is expressed by suffixing the modal auxiliary \(-p^h_u/\) or \(-p^h_ure/\) to the verb. For example:

\[/aŋ \text{ riya}o \ -p^h_u \ -d_u/\]
\(I\) swim Mood. -Pre.
‘I can swim’.

\[/b\text{o} \ k^h_\text{u}\text{i} \ k^h_\text{lai} \ -p^h_\text{ure}/\]
he work do Mood.
‘He can do the work’.

4.8.3. Necessity:

The mood of necessity is expressed by suffixing \(-naŋ/\) which means ‘need’ to the infinitive verb followed by tense marker. For example:

\[/aŋ \ t^h_\text{aŋ} \ -ma \ -naŋ \ -ma/\]
\(I\) go Inf. Mood. -Fut.
‘I will need to go’.

\[/b\text{o} \ mi\text{yaha} \ \text{iraha} \ p^h_\text{ai} \ -ma \ -naŋ \ -ba/\]
he yesterday here come Inf. Mood. -Past
‘He needed to come here yesterday.’

4.8.4. Probability:

The mood of probability is realized by suffixing \(-lap^h_\text{ure}/\) to the verb root. For example:

\[/t^h_\text{aŋ} \ -\text{ha}/\]
go Mood.
‘Please go’.
/anŋ tʰaŋ -lapʰare/
I go Mood.
‘I may go’.

/hadi ha -lapʰure/
rain fall Mood.
‘It may rain’.

4.8.5. Conditional Mood:
The conditional mood is expressed by suffixing different forms /-kʰade/, /-kʰahi/, /-kʰaha/ to the verb root while forms like /-tʰikʰade/, /-tʰikʰahi/, /-tʰikʰaha/ are suffixed when tense is used and it comes after the tense marker. All of these forms have the same meaning ‘if’. For example:-

/nuŋ pʰai -kʰade/
/nuŋ pʰai -kʰahi/
/nuŋ pʰai -kʰaha/
you come Mood.
‘If you come’.

/nuŋ pʰai -ma -tʰikʰade/
/nuŋ pʰai -ma -tʰikʰahi/
/nuŋ pʰai -ma -tʰikʰaha/
you come -Fut. Mood.
‘If you will come’.

4.8.6. Permissive Mood:
The permissive mood is expressed by suffixing /-ri/ which means ‘give’ to the infinitive verb. For example:-

/anŋ -kʰe zo -ma -ri/
I -Acc. speak Inf. give
‘Allow me to speak’.
"zuŋ -kʰe luŋ -ma -ri -kʰa/
we -Acc. drink Inf. give -Past
‘We were allowed to drink’.

4.9. Non-finite Verbs:
Non-finite verbal construction can be divided into - (i) Infinitive, (ii) Gerund and (iii) Participles.

4.9.1. Infinitive:
In the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa, the infinitive is realized by suffixing /-ma/ to the verbal root. For example:-

/aŋ rəzab -ma muzuŋ –du/
I sing Inf. wish -Pre.
‘I wish to sing’.

/aŋ bo -kʰe nai -ma tʰaŋ –ma/
I he -Acc. see Inf. go -Fut.
‘I shall go to see him’.

4.9.2. Gerund:
The verbal noun or gerund is expressed by suffixing /-ba/ equivalent to the English particle ‘-ing’ to the verbal root. For example:-

/aŋ bai -ba hamzao –du/
I dance ing love - Pre.
‘I love dancing’.

/riyao -ba fao -ni kʰαιhi ham -bi/
swim ing body -Gen. for good Pred.
‘Swimming is good for health’.
4.9.3. Participles:

The participles in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa can be categorized into- (i) Adjectivals, (ii) Conjunctives and (iii) Adverbials.

4.9.3.1. Adjectival participles:

Adjectival participle is expressed by suffixing /-yaba/ which is equivalent to English meaning ‘one’ as in ‘the big one’ or Hindi ‘wala’ as in ‘sundar wala’ ‘the beautiful one’.

This /-yaba/ is used in both present and past tense. However, to use in future tense /-gin-/ is infixed in between verbal root and adjectival participle. For example:-

/tʰaŋ -yaba/ ‘the one who goes’/ ‘the one who went’.

/tʰaŋ -gin-yaba/ ‘the one who will go’.

/nana gra -yaba/ ‘crying child’/ ‘the child that cried’.

/nana gra -gin-yaba/ ‘the child who will cry’.

4.9.3.2. Conjunct Participles:

It is expressed by suffixing /-hi/ to the verbal root. The use of /-hi/ expresses the meaning of sequential action, related action, cause-effect relationship and adverbial. For example:-

/pʰai -hi aŋ lajfi -kʰe pʰori-kʰa/

come Conj. I book -Acc. read -Past

‘Having come I read the book’.

/aŋ tʰaŋ -hi nai –ma/

I go Conj. see -Fut.

‘I will go and see’.

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‘He ran away for fear of tiger’.

‘With pleasure, gave him money’.

‘Kindly give me (a) book’.

4.9.3.3. Adverbial Participles:
It is expressed by suffixing /-ha/ to the verbal noun expressing the meaning of ‘while’ or ‘at the time of’. For example:-

‘while doing’/ ‘at the time of doing’.

‘Do not speak while eating/ at the time of eating’.

4.10. Adjectives:
In the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa, most of the adjectives are derived from verbal roots. Moreover, adjectives can be used not only attributively but also predicatively. The suffix /-ba/ and /-bi/ are attached to the verbal root to make attributive and predicative respectively. For example:-

‘Good man’.
Though adjective (attributive or predicative) can either precede or follow the noun but when case markers and plural markers are used, it always occurs with attributive and the schema is noun+plural+case. For example:-

/ʃubuŋ ham -bi/
man good -Pred.
‘(The) man is good’.

/tʰao -ba ʃamlai/
delicious -Attr. curry
‘Delicious curry’.

/ʃamlai tʰao -bi/
curry delicious -Pred.
‘(The) curry is delicious’.

Though adjective (attributive or predicative) can either precede or follow the noun but when case markers and plural markers are used, it always occurs with attributive and the schema is noun+plural+case. For example:-

/ham -bi ʃubuŋ/
good -Pred. man
‘(The) man is good’.

/ʃubuŋ ham -ba -butʰu/
man good -Attr. Pl.
‘(The) good men’.

/ham -ba ʃubuŋ -butʰu/
good-Attr. man Pl.
‘(The) good men’.

/mətla məzan -ba -rao/
girl beautiful -Attr. Pl.
‘(The) beautiful girls’.
The adjectives in Dimasa are formed by adding prefixes such as /ge/, /gu/, /gә/, /gi/ etc. to the stative verb. The kinds of adjectives in Dimasa are as follows:-

(i) Adjectives denoting quality:
/gә-de/ ‘big’
/gu-duŋ/ ‘hot’
/gә-tәɾ/ ‘pure’
/gә-tәŋ/ ‘alive’

(ii) Adjectives denoting quantity:
/bәdamma/ ‘many’
/kәʃa/ ‘some’
/gizиʃa/ ‘little’
/krip/ ‘all’
/gә-bәŋ/ ‘much’

Here, the prefix /gә-/ is added to verb but other words itself indicates adjectives of quantity.

(iii) Adjectives denoting taste:
/gi-di/ ‘sweet’
/gә-brap/ ‘sour’
/gә-kәɾ/ ‘bitter’

Here, the derivational prefixes are attached to the verb root.

(iv) Adjectives denoting colour:
/gu-fәm/ ‘black’
/gu-pәʃ/ ‘white’
Here, adjectives are formed by prefixing to the verb root.

(v) Adjectives denoting dimension:
/gə- zao/ ‘red’

Here, too, adjectives are formed by derivational prefixation to the verbal root.

We have got only one example where derivational suffix /-tʰe/ is added to verb root. For example:-
/rao -tʰe/ ‘hard, solid’

There are words which do not follow such kind of affixation pattern. The word itself indicates adjectives such as:-
/gurmu/ ‘yellow’
/gili/ ‘unripe’

4.10.1. Adjectives of comparison:

The Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa has three forms of comparative degrees of adjectives. They are – (a) positive degree, (b) comparative degree and (c) superlative degree.

(a) Positive degree: It remains unmarked. For example:-
/gəzao/ ‘red’
/gupʰu/ ‘white’
/məzaŋba/ ‘beautiful’

(b) Comparative degree: Derivational affix that used to form the adjective from verbal root gets omitted and comparative is formed by post posing /-dao/ to verbal root along with the suffixation of comparison of inequality /-tʰane/. For example:-
Ram is taller than Sham.

Zomi is fairer than Shomi.

(c) Superlative degree: The superlative degree is formed by postposing /-tʰao/ to the comparative form of adjectives. While making comparison, the comparative particle /-tʰane/ is added to the standard of comparative noun. For example:-

He is the best man.

This is the whitest cloth.

Brahmaputra is the longest river of all.

4.11. Adverbs:

Adverb is a class of words which modifies the action of a verb or an adjective. Adverbs in Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa can be categorized into (i) simple/base adverbs, (ii) derived adverbs, (iii) compound adverbs and (iv) reduplicated adverbs. For example:-
(i) Simple adverbs:
It consists of a single root morpheme. For example:-
/dini/ ‘today’
/dakʰna/ ‘tomorrow’
/nalai/ ‘daily’
/gəbaŋ/ ‘much’

(ii) Complex/ Derived adverbs:
It consists of a single root followed by derivative suffixes. For example:-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Complex adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ham/</td>
<td>/ham –ʃiʃi/ ‘well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rao/</td>
<td>/rao -tʰetʰe/ ‘tightly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lai/</td>
<td>/lai –lolo/ ‘easily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/məzaŋ/</td>
<td>/məzaŋ-ʃiʃi/ ‘beautifully’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) Compound adverbs:
It consists of more than one root. For example:-
/dini dakʰna/ ‘now a days’
/dini/ ‘today’ + /dakʰna/ ‘tomorrow’
/dakʰnaʃoni/ ‘some other day’
/dakʰna/ ‘tomorrow’ + /ʃoni/ ‘the day after tomorrow’

(iv) Reduplicated adverbs:
It is formed by reduplicating the root. For example:-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Reduplicated adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pʰru/</td>
<td>/pʰru pʰru/ ‘silently’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adverbs can be classified into the following classes according to their meaning.

For example:-

(i) Adverbs of time:
/kʰre/  ‘slowly’
/jaŋa/  ‘quickly’

/doha/  ‘now’
/dini/  ‘today’
/dakʰna/  ‘tomorrow’
/miyaha/  ‘yesterday’
/joni/  ‘the day after tomorrow’
/jainzer/  ‘mid-day’
/hogzer/  ‘mid-night’

(ii) Adverbs of place:
/iraha/  ‘here’
/uraha/  ‘there’
/bajaoha/  ‘up’
/bakʰla ha/  ‘down’

(iii) Adverbs of manner: It is formed by complete reduplication of the base word.
/alan alan/  ‘repeatedly’
/pʰru pʰru/  ‘silently’
/jaŋa jaŋa/  ‘quickly’

(iv) Adverbs of purpose:
/odebani/  ‘therefore’
/kʰla hi/  ‘so that’

(v) Adverbs of quantity:
/hamʃinun/  ‘very’
/gɔbanj/ ‘much’
/bɔdamma/ ‘many’

(vi) Adverbs of frequency:
/alaŋ-gini; pʰin-gini/ ‘twice’
/alaŋ-ʃi; pʰin-ʃi/ ‘once’
/alaŋpʰao/ ‘hardly’
/nalai/ ‘always’
/pʰin/ ‘again’

4.12. Numerals:
The numerals in the Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa can be classified into two, viz., cardinal and ordinals.

4.12.1. Cardinal Numerals:
In Dimasa, the numeral system is decimal. The cardinal numeral system of the Hawar dialect of Dimasa is substituted by the Bengali cardinal number, usually just after the cardinal number five in Hawar dialect. However, such tendency of substitution of higher number is found among the younger generations than the older one. Even the cardinal number ‘20’ which is /ma-kʰon/ in standard Dimasa, is replaced by /bifəʃi/ meaning ‘20’ which is a contracted form of /bis/ and /ma-ʃi/ where /bis/ is a Bengali cardinal number for ‘20’ and /ma-ʃi/ is a Dimasa cardinal number meaning ‘one’. Thus, the basic cardinal numerals in Hawar dialect are as follows:

/ma-ʃi/ ‘one’
/m-a-gini/ ‘two’
/mak-tʰam/ ‘three’
/ma-bri/ ‘four’
/ma-bowa/ ‘five’
/ʃo:ʃoi/ ‘six’
/sat/ ‘seven’
Though the numerals from 11 to 99 are formed by adding the basic numeral from 1 to 9 to the numerals 10, 20, 30 and so on as in the following cases

10+1 = 11
10+2 = 12
10+3 = 14

But all these higher decimal number systems are substituted by the Bengali cardinal numbers like –

10+1 = 11
10+2 = 12
10+3 = 14

4.12.2. Ordinals:

Dimasa does not have ordinal numbers except for ‘first’. However, the Bengali word /poila/ is also used for the ‘first’ and the rest ordinal numbers are used by compounding the Bengali cardinals and the English word ‘number’. All these borrowed words are used with different pronunciation. For example:-

10+1 = 11
10+2 = 12
10+3 = 14

4.12.3. Fractionals:

In Hawar dialect, the fractional number for ‘½’ is expressed by the word /gezer/. However, /adha/ and /sare/ are also used which are Bengali words. The following fractional
Numerals with some phonological changes are found in Hawar dialect which are basically Bengali based.

\[/p^hawa/ \quad \frac{1}{4}\]
\[/ada/ \quad \frac{1}{2}\]
\[/der/ \quad 1 \text{ and } \frac{1}{2}\]
\[/sare/ \quad \frac{1}{2} \text{ (added after three onwards)}\]
\[/t^h\text{in } p^hawa/ \quad \frac{3}{4}\]
\[/arai/ \quad 2 \text{ and } \frac{1}{2}\]
\[/sare p^h\text{as}/ \quad 5 \text{ and } \frac{1}{2}\]

4.12.4. Enumeratives/Proportionals:

To denote the doubling of the numerals like twice, thrice etc., it is expressed by the prefixation of /alaŋ-; p^h\text{in-}/ to the cardinal numerals. However, it depends on the speaker’s knowledge of the Dimasa cardinal numerals. Usually higher doubling numerals from six onwards are expressed by suffixing /-bar/ to the basic cardinal numerals of Bengali.

\[/\text{alaŋ-}fî; \ p^h\text{in-}fî/ \quad \text{‘once’}\]
\[/\text{alaŋ-gini; } p^h\text{in-gini}/ \quad \text{‘twice’}\]
\[/\text{alaŋ-}t^h\text{am; } p^h\text{in-}t^h\text{am}/ \quad \text{‘thrice’}\]
\[/\text{alaŋ-bri; } p^h\text{in-bri}/ \quad \text{‘four times’}\]
\[/\text{alaŋ-bowa; } p^h\text{in-bowa}/ \quad \text{‘five times’}\]
\[/\text{e}^h\text{oibar; soibar}/ \quad \text{‘six times’}\]
\[/\text{satbar}/ \quad \text{‘seven times’}\]
4.12.5. Distributive Numerals:

The distributive numerals are formed by reduplicating the numerals. For this purpose, the classifier /ma-/ is prefixed to the numerals. For higher distributive numerals, the definitive /-tʰa/ or /kʰan/ is suffixed to the Bengali numerals.

\[
\begin{align*}
/ma-fi ma-fi/ & \quad \text{‘one each’} \\
/ma-gini ma-gini/ & \quad \text{‘two each’} \\
/sat-tʰa sat-tʰa/ & \quad \text{‘seven each’} \\
/atkʰan atkʰan/ & \quad \text{‘eight each’}
\end{align*}
\]

We have noticed that the Dimasa villages that are surrounded by Muslim population tend to use /kʰan/ instead of /tʰa/. So the use of /tʰa/ or /kʰan/ is dependent on where the concerned Dimasa speaker is living.

4.12.6. Numeral classifiers:

In Hawar dialect, the numeral classifier /zon/ and /kʰan/ or /tʰa/ have been adopted. They are added after the Bengali cardinal numerals where /zon/ is used as a classifier with human nouns and /kʰan/ or /tʰa/ is used with non-human referents. Though Dimasa uses the classifier /ʃao-/ to express one human and second onwards without using any classifiers for human being, the higher order numerals are expressed by using /zon/ to the Bengali cardinal numerals. For example:-

\[
\begin{align*}
/ʃubuŋ ʃao-fi/ & \quad \text{‘one man’} \\
/ʃubuŋ gini/ & \quad \text{‘two men’} \\
/ʃubuŋ bri/ & \quad \text{‘four men’} \\
/ʃubuŋ sat zon/ & \quad \text{‘seven men’} \\
/daono atkʰan/ & \quad \text{‘eight hens’}
\end{align*}
\]

4.13. Classifiers:

The Dimasa dialect of Barak Valley uses classifiers for denoting the semantic classification of the referent on the basis of the qualities of the noun, that is, its physical shape, size and state etc. Classifiers in this language are predominantly of mono-syllabic structure. They occur with the numerals and the classifiers precede the numerals.
Classifiers usually follow the nouns. The following are the examples of the classifiers of Barak Valley Dimasa dialect.

(i) In case of only one human being, the classifier /ʃao-/ is used.

/ʃubuŋ ʃao- ʃi/  
man class.- one
‘one man’.

(ii) Noun denoting animals, birds, insects takes the classifier /ma/

/alu ma- ʃi/  
cat class.- one
‘one cat’.

.dao ma- ʃi/  
bird class.- one
‘one bird’.

/dama ma- ʃi/  
butterfly class.- one
‘one butterfly’.

(iii) Noun denoting plants, trees takes the classifier /pʰaŋ-/  

/bọŋpʰaŋ pʰaŋ- tʰam/  
tree class.- three
‘three trees’.

/maipʰaŋ pʰaŋ- gini/  
paddy plant class.- two
‘two paddy plants’.

(iv) Noun denoting long, cylindrical objects take the classifier /goŋ-/  

/wa goŋ- ʃi/  
bamboo class.- one
‘one bamboo’.

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/sigaret goŋ- gini/
cigarette class.- two
‘two cigarettes’.

(v) Noun denoting rectangular objects takes the classifier /grəŋ-/
/jola grəŋ- jī/
shirt class.- one
‘one shirt’.

/laiʃi grəŋ- tham/
book class.- three
‘three books’.

(vi) Noun denoting leaf of trees, plants take the classifier /lai-/
/blai lai- jī/
leaf class.- one
‘one leaf’.

/blai lai- tham/
leaf class.- three
‘three leaves’.

(vii) Noun denoting packets take the classifier /kʰoŋ-/
/wairep kʰoŋ- jī/
match class.- one
‘one match box’.

/sigaret kʰoŋ- gini/
cigarette class.- two
‘one packet of cigarette’.

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(viii) Noun denoting flowers take the classifier /bar-/  
/kʰum  bar- fi/  
flower class.- one  
‘one flower’.  
/kʰum  bar- gini/  
flower class.- two  
‘two flowers’.

(ix) Noun denoting eggs take the classifier /di-/  
/daodi  di- gini/  
egg class.- two  
‘two eggs’.

(x) Noun denoting long and thin object like rope, hair, thread take the classifier /diŋ-/  
/wadu  diŋ- fi/  
rope class.- one  
‘one rope’.  
/kʰun  diŋ- tʰam/  
thread class.- three  
‘three threads’.  
/kʰai  diŋ- fi/  
hair class.- one  
‘one hair’.

(xi) Noun denoting piece of meat, potato etc. take the classifier /do-/  
/mogon  do- gini/  
eat class.- two  
‘two pieces of meat’.
(xii) Noun denoting the barks takes the classifier /gur-/ 

 BUGUR gur- /i/ 
 bark class.- one 
 ‘one bark’.

(xiii) Noun denoting kilograms take the classifier /her-/ 

 MAIRON her- /i/ 
 rice class.- one 
 ‘one kilogram rice’.

/zbaitai her- gini/ 
 potato class.- two 
 ‘two kilograms of potato’.

(xiv) Noun denoting bundle of wood, bamboo etc take the classifier /khōatbai-/ 

 WANDO khōatbai- /i/ 
 wood class.- one 
 ‘one bundle of wood’

/wh bai- gini/ 
 bamboo class.- two 
 ‘two bundles of bamboo’.

(xv) Noun denoting piece of biscuit, bamboo, fruit etc take the classifier /khōlep-/ 

 HON khōlep- /i/ 
 biscuit class.- one 
 ‘one piece of biscuit’.
/wa kʰlep-ʃi/  
bamboo    class.- one  
‘one piece of bamboo’.

(xvi) Noun denoting hole takes the classifier /kʰor-/  
/hakʰor    kʰor-ʃi/  
hole  class.- one  
‘one hole’.

/hakʰor    kʰor- gini/  
hole  class.- two  
‘two holes’.

(xvii) Noun denoting head of fish, bird, human being etc. takes the classifier /kʰro-/  
/na    kʰro-ʃi/  
fish  class.- one  
‘one head of fish’.

/dao    kʰro- gni/  
bird  class.- two  
‘two head of birds’.

(xviii) Noun denoting pages takes the classifier /pʰin-/  
/bupʰin    pʰin-ʃi/  
page  class.- one  
‘one page’.

/bupʰin    pʰin- tʰam/  
page  class.- three  
‘three pages’.
(xix) Noun denoting cluster of bamboo, banana tree etc takes the classifier /ʃon-/  
/ʃon-ʃi/  
bamboo class.- one  
‘one cluster of bamboo’.

/tʰailupʰaŋʃon-ʃi/  
banana class.- one  
‘one cluster of banana tree’.

(xx) Noun denoting almost round objects like pitcher, dish, eyes etc. take the classifier  
/tʰai-/  
/dihu tʰai-ʃi/  
pitcher class.- one  
‘one pitcher’.

/kʰopra tʰai-ʃi/  
dish class.- one  
‘one dish’.

(xxi) Noun denoting periods of the day take the classifier /ʃain-/  
/bəʃainʃain-ʃi/  
day class.- one  
‘one day’.

/bəʃainʃain- tʰam/  
day class.- three  
‘three days’.

(xxii) Noun denoting periods of the month take the classifier /dain-/  
/bədain dain-ʃi/  
month class.- one  
‘one month’.
There is one classifier which occur independently as noun to denote money without being added to another noun. For example:-

/tʰo-ʃi/
class.- one
‘one rupee’.

/hor-ʃi/
night one
‘one night’.

/maitʰai-ʃi/
year one
‘one year’.

/maitʰai-do/
year six
‘six years’
4.14. Negation:

Negation in Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa is formed by negative particles /niya/, /-ya/, /da-/ and by negative copula /giri/. /niya/ is used in equative sentences and nominal predicates. /-ya/ occurs in the post-verbal position to negate affirmative sentences. /da-/ occurs in the pre-verbal position to negate imperative sentences. /giri/ is used in the existential construction, locative predicates and possessive sentences. For example:-

*/ʃiʃ a gupʰu niya/
dog white Neg.
‘The dog is not white’.

*/bo hatʰai tʰaŋ –ya/
he market go -Neg.
‘He does not go to market’.

*/da- doŋ/
Neg.- stay
‘Do not stay’.

*/dihu – ha di giri/
pitcher–Loc. water Neg.
‘There is no water in the pitcher’.

*/aŋ no – ha giri/
I home-Loc. Neg.
‘I am not at home’.

*/ani raŋ giri/
my money Neg.
‘I do not have money’.
4.15. Interrogatives:

Interrogatives in Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa are expressed by Yes/No question which is formed by adding /-tʰi/ to the verb, noun, adjective and by rising intonation. Interrogatives are also expressed by Wh-question which is formed by using interrogative pronouns and also by Tag question accompanied by the particle /kʰunu/ which is a nativised sound borrowed from Sylheti. For example:

/nuŋ tʰaŋ –ma –tʰi ?/
you go –Fut. –Int.
‘Will you go?’

/nuŋ tʰaŋ –ma ?/ (rising intonation)
you go –Fut.
‘Will you go?’

/ebo ʃnadi ?/
this Wh.
‘What is this?’

/bo ʃere ?/
he Wh.
‘Who is he?’

/bo kʰuʃi daŋ –du daŋ –ya kʰunu/
he work do –Pre. do –Neg. Part.
‘He does the work, does not he?’

/bo tʰaŋ –ya tʰaŋ –du kʰunu/
he go –Neg. go –Pre. Part.
‘He does not go, does he?’
4.16. Emphatic Particle:

The Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa known as Hawar uses postpositional emphatic particle /nuŋ/ to give emphasis on the meaning expressed by nouns, pronouns, verbs and adverbs. For example:

/bo jəbuŋ -nuŋ alu -kʰe do -ba jɔgaŋha/
that man Emph. cat -Acc. beat -Past. earlier
‘That man beat the cat earlier’.

/aŋ -nuŋ bo -kʰe nu -ba miyaha/
I Emph. he -Acc. see -Past yesterday
‘I saw him yesterday’.

/nuŋ zi -ma -nuŋ naŋ -ma/
you eat Inf. Emph. need -Fut.
‘You will need to eat’.

/bo məzaŋʃiʃi -nuŋ rɔzap -kʰa/
he beautifully Emph. sing -Past
‘He sang beautifully’.

4.17. Word-formation:

Crystal (1985) defines word-formation as the whole process of morphological variation in the constitution of words, i.e. including the two main divisions of Inflection and Derivation. In a more restricted sense, word-formation refers to the latter processes only. The word-formation in Hawar dialect is found to use two main types of strategies, namely, affixation and compounding. At the same time, other processes like borrowing and reduplication are also used in Hawar dialect to form new words.
4.17.1. Affixation:

Affixation is a collective term for the types of formative that can be used only when added to another morpheme (root or stem), i.e., affixes are a type of ‘bound’ morpheme (Crystal, 1985). The dialect of Dimasa makes use of two types of affixes – Prefix and Suffix.

4.17.1.1. Prefixation:

Hawar dialect use prefixes like /da-, /ga-/ to derive different word classes. /da-/ is prefixed to the verbal root which denotes prohibition and negation.

/\(k^b\)ai/ ‘run’ /da+\(k^b\)ai/ ‘do not run’
/\(rep\) ‘write’ /da+\(rep\) ‘do not write’
/\(k^b\)am/ ‘sit’ /da+\(k^b\)am/ ‘do not sit’
/zi/ ‘eat’ /da+zi/ ‘do not eat’

Adjectives in Hawar dialect are derived from verb by prefixing /ga/. For example:-

/zam/ ‘finish’ /gazam/ ‘old’
/\(h^b\)anj ‘go’ /g\(h^b\)anj ‘raw’
/\(zao\) ‘stab’ /g\(zao\) ‘red’

4.17.1.2. Suffixation:

The Barak Valley dialect of Dimasa uses more suffixes than prefixes to form new word classes.

/\(-du\)/ is added to the verb to make present tense.
/p\(h^b\)ori+\(-du\) ‘read’
/zi+\(-du\) ‘eat’

/\(-k^b\)a/ is added to the verb which functions as past tense marker.
/\(h^b\)anj+\(k^b\)a/ ‘went’
/\(k^b\)ai+\(k^b\)a/ ‘ran’

Suffix /\(-ma\)/ functions as the future tense marker which is added to the verb.
/zi+\(-ma\) ‘will eat’
/\(h^b\)anj+\(-ma\) ‘will go’

/\(-rao\)/ is suffixed to a noun to denote a plural form.
/nana/ ‘child’ /nana+rao/ ‘children’
/naga/ ‘bechelor’ /naga+rao/ ‘bachelors’
Suffix /-ya/ is used as a negative marker which can be added to the verbs as well as to the adjectives.

- /zon/ ‘wait’ /zon+ya/ ‘not wait’
- /zi/ ‘eat’ /zi+ya/ ‘not eat’
- /ham/ ‘good’ /ham+ya/ ‘not good’
- /kʰaʃe/ ‘small’ /kʰaʃe+ya/ ‘not small’

/-ya/ is also used to make an agentive noun from a verb.

- /daŋ/ ‘work’ /daŋ+ya/ ‘worker’
- /bai/ ‘dance’ /bai+ya/ ‘dancer’
- /rep/ ‘write’ /rep+ya/ ‘writer’

4.17.2. Compounding:

It is a process in which a linguistic unit is formed with at least two roots. It basically means that complex words are formed from smaller units which otherwise can function independently. Different types of compounding found in Hawar dialect are –

**Noun + Noun**

- /dao/ ‘bird’ /no/ ‘house’ /dao+no/ ‘hen’
- /ha/ ‘soil’ /di/ ‘water’ /ha+di/ ‘grassland’
- /bar/ ‘air’ /di/ ‘water’ /bar+di/ ‘climate’

**Noun + Adjective**

- /tʰampʰi/ ‘mosquito’ /ma/ ‘big’ /tʰampʰi+ma/ ‘housefly’
- /ha/ ‘soil’ /zu/ ‘high’ /ha+zu/ ‘hill’

Here /zu/ is a contracted form of /guzu/ for the same meaning ‘high’.

**Verb + Noun**

- /bu/ ‘cut’ /mai/ ‘paddy’ /bu+mai/ ‘wound’
- /pʰori/ ‘read’ /anʃa/ ‘child’ /pʰori+anʃa/ ‘student’

4.17.3. Borrowing:

Borrowing takes place when a speech community comes into close contact with other communities and as a result of this contact, one community starts taking and using some linguistic items from the other communities. As Dimasas came into close contact with
the Bengalis after they shifted their capital to Maibong in North Cachar Hills districts and then to Khaspur in Cachar district, a large number of Bengali words are borrowed and gradually substituting the original Dimasa words with nativised phonological systems such as the following:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Dimasa words</th>
<th>Hawar dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/rebgon/</td>
<td>/kʰolom/ ‘pen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bubli/</td>
<td>/somoi/ ‘time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zeŋkʰloŋmander/</td>
<td>/ramdonu/ ‘rainbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/riŋmili/</td>
<td>/soŋkʰritʰi/ ‘culture’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/risa/</td>
<td>/gamsa/ ‘towel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/laizoma/</td>
<td>/jitʰi; cʰitʰi/ ‘letter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰuyam/</td>
<td>/bijna/ ‘bed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/godrai/</td>
<td>/kʰukʰra/ ‘curly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/azu/</td>
<td>/dadu/ ‘grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/adi/</td>
<td>/kʰakʰa/ ‘uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/madi/</td>
<td>/kʰakʰi/ ‘aunty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ada/</td>
<td>/dana/ ‘brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/abai/</td>
<td>/baba/ ‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/muri/</td>
<td>/basi/ ‘flute’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rebmin/</td>
<td>/okkʰor/ ‘alphabet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gerna/</td>
<td>/grohon/ ‘eclipse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/daodaï/</td>
<td>/moyur/ ‘peacock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/digatʰai/</td>
<td>/gat/ ‘bathing place in the river’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a result of contact with the Bengalis, a huge stock of Sylheti Bengali words have become an integral part of the Hawar dialect of Dimasa lexicon and most of the time the Dimasa native speakers of Hawar dialect can not recollect the original Dimasa term. In other words, this particular Dimasa dialect almost lost the original native words. Consider the following example:-

**Hawar dialect**

/bagan/ ‘garden’
The Perso-Arabic words have also entered in Dimasa lexicon through the Bengali such as, /duckhān/ ‘shop’, /ukhil/ ‘lawyer’, /zila/ ‘district’.

Like any other natural languages of the world, Hawar dialect of Dimasa has also borrowed a large number of English words with nativised phonological system such as –

/tukhet/ ‘ticket’
/tēbul/ ‘table’
/tibi/ ‘television’
/pēlim/ ‘film’
/iskul/ ‘school’
/mastar/ ‘master’
/opis/ ‘office’
/kholez/ ‘college’
/tos/ ‘torch’ etc.

4.17.4. Reduplication:

Reduplication stands for repletion of all or a part of a lexical item carrying a semantic modification. Reduplication, thus, can be partial or complete (Abbi, 1992). There are two types of reduplication found in Hawar dialect namely, complete reduplication where
the whole form is repeated without any change and partial reduplication where an expression is repeated partially.

4.17.4.1. Complete Reduplication:

/nolai+nolai/ ‘respective villages’
/gibi+gibi/ ‘truly’
/gubun+gubun/ ‘differently’
/lendu+lendu/ ‘slowly’
/fangɔ+fangɔ/ ‘quickly’
/goʃoŋ+goʃoŋ/ ‘vertically’
/gebeŋ+gebeŋ/ ‘horizontally’

4.17.4.2. Partial Reduplication:

/lailo+lo/ ‘easily’
/bale+le/ ‘thinly’
/mili+li/ ‘smoothly’
/jbǝble+ble/ ‘stickily’
/raotʰe+tʰe/ ‘tightly’

4.17.5. Echo-Formations:

It is defined as a partially repeated form of the base word – partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (which can either be a consonant or vowel) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable (Abbi, 1992). The echo-word has no meaning on its own and the whole construction expresses the meaning of ‘etcetera’, ‘things similar to’ or ‘associated with that’ to the base word or first word (Abbi, 1992).

/ri/ ~ /ri ra/ ‘cloth etc.’
/hon/ ~ /hon han/ ‘biscuits etc.’
/zu/ ~ /zu za/ ‘wine etc’
/nana/ ~ /nana nunu/ ‘child and associated with that’
There are two types of rule found in Hawar dialect – one, if the base word contains /a/ in the final syllable, then the /a/ will be replaced by /u/ in the echo-word and second, if it is any other vowel in the base word, it will be replaced by /a/.

/di/  ~  /di da/  ‘water etc.’
/ʃa/  ~  /ʃa ʃu/  ‘tea etc.’
/na/  ~  /na nu/  ‘fish etc.’